UNITED
NATIONS

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Security Council

PROVISIONAL

S/PV.3237
15 June 1993

ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND
TWO HUNDRED AND THIRTY-SEVENTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Tuesday, 15 June 1993, at 4.05 p.m.

President:	Mr. YAÑEZ BARNUEVO	(Spain)
Members:	Brazil	Mr. SARDENBERG
	Cape Verde	Mr. BARBOSA
	China	Mr. CHEN Jian
	Djibouti	Mr. BADRI
	France	Mr. MERIMEE
	Hungary	Mr. ERDÖS
	Japan	Mr. MARUYAMA
	Morocco	Mr. BELLOUKI
	New Zealand	Mr. O'BRIEN
	Pakistan	Mr. KHAN
	Russian Federation	Mr. VORONTSOV
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
	United States of America	Mr. WALKER
	Venezuela	Mr. FONSECA

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the Official Records of the Security Council.

Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, within one week, to the Chief, Official Records Editing Section, Office of Conference Services, room DC2-750, 2 United Nations Plaza, and incorporated in a copy of the record.

93-86089 0259V (E)

The meeting was called to order at 4.05 p.m.

TRIBUTE TO THE MEMORY OF AMBASSADOR HAMADI KHOUINI, PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF TUNISIA

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The members of the Security Council have received the sad news of the premature passing of Ambassador Hamadi Khouini, Permanent Representative of Tunisia to the United Nations.

On behalf of the members of the Council, I wish to express our condolences to the Government and people of Tunisia and to the bereaved family. We all felt great respect for him, and we shall miss him very much.

I now invite the members of the Council to stand and observe a minute of silence.

The members of the Council observed a minute of silence.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION IN CAMBODIA

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON THE CONDUCT AND RESULTS OF THE ELECTIONS IN CAMBODIA (S/25913)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the conduct and results of the elections in Cambodia, document S/25913.

(The President)

Members of the Council also have before them document S/25931, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by China, France, Japan, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America.

I should like to draw the attention of members of the Council to the following revisions to the draft resolution in document S/25931, its provisional form.

In paragraph 4, after "of the Cambodia Conflict" insert "contained in the Paris Agreements".

In paragraph 7 delete "future" in the second line before "role".

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to document S/25940, which contains the text of a letter dated 11 June 1993 from the Permanent Representative of Denmark to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General.

(The President)

It is my understanding that the Security Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution (S/25931) before it, as revised in its provisional form. If I hear no objection, I shall now put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Brazil, Cape Verde, China, Djibouti, France, Hungary, Japan, Morocco, New Zealand, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela

The PRESIDENT: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution, as orally revised in its provisional form, has been adopted unanimously as resolution 840 (1993).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. MERIMEE (France) (interpretation from French): My Government followed with deep satisfaction the electoral process in Cambodia and took note of its results. In voting in favour of this resolution, my delegation intended to emphasize that it fully subscribes to the statement of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General that the elections held in that country were free and fair. We should like once again to pay tribute to the entire United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) team for the way in which it carried out its mission in particularly difficult and dangerous conditions.

For the people of Cambodia, who demonstrated unambiguously their desire for peace and democracy, it is the dawn of a new era. We urge them not to let

(Mr. Mérimée, France)

this opportunity pass, an opportunity for which other peoples of the world might today envy them. This means, first and foremost, respecting the results of the elections, certified as free and fair by the United Nations, as the Cambodian parties have pledged to do when they signed the Paris Agreements. We hope that they will be guided by their patriotism, reason, restraint and sense of public interest by not calling into question, through violence, the results of the democratic process, and by taking care not to jeopardize the unity of the country, which is also written into the Paris Agreements. The time has come to work together under the unanimously recognized authority of His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk, in a true spirit of national reconciliation, to put in place definitive institutional structures and rebuild the country. It is in this spirit that we find especially positive the decision of the Constituent Assembly during its inaugural meeting to recognize fully His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk as Head of State.

The last stage of the peace process now remains to be carried out, with the leading role of the United Nations. In particular, there needs to be a coalition plan - to be implemented under the authority of Prince Sihanouk, who has just been unanimously granted full powers by the Assembly - making it possible to expedite matters currently pending while the Constituent Assembly drafts the constitution.

Mr. MARUYAMA (Japan): The United Nations having certified that the election in Cambodia was free and fair, the Security Council has now, with its unanimous adoption of resolution 840 (1993), endorsed the results of that election. The Cambodian peace process has thus entered the next and most important stage: drawing up a constitution and establishing a new Government.

(Mr. Maruyama, Japan)

Japan believes that the realisation of peace and democracy in Cambodia - a goal that has been long awaited by the Cambodian people - can be achieved only if all parties fully respect the results of the election and, demonstrating the political will to achieve national reconciliation, cooperate in all good faith with efforts towards that end. In this connection, Japan stresses the importance of the leadership role of His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk and supports his efforts to create the stable political environment necessary for the smooth implementation of the peace process. In addition, my delegation wishes to state once again that all parties and persons concerned in Cambodia must strive to ensure the safety of the personnel of the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia.

The international community remains actively committed to supporting efforts by the Cambodian people themselves for the restoration of peace and the reconstruction of their country. My delegation calls upon all Cambodians to seize firmly this epochal opportunity and join forces to achieve a united, democratic Cambodia on the basis of the results of the election.

Mr. ERDÖS (Hungary) (interpretation from French): The Security Council's adoption of resolution 840 (1993) is an important and welcome step in the contemporary history of Cambodia. After so many efforts, to the great satisfaction of the international community, elections for a Constituent Assembly were held in that country. Resolution 840 (1993) endorses the results of those elections which have been certified as free and fair. With their massive participation in that popular referendum, the Khmer people demonstrated, spectacularly and convincingly, that it both wanted and knew how to take advantage of the opportunity offered it. In our complicated world, where the international community has met with other than success, this

(Mr. Erdös, Hungary)

impressive result, obtained by the United Nations in Cambodia thanks to the perseverant and responsible activities of the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia and the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, will not go unnoticed.

A new chapter is thus opening up before the Khmer people. Both its elected representatives and the future leadership of the country will go a long way towards turning this opportunity into reality: building and consolidating a unified, sovereign and democratic country. Any solution that departs from the principles and timetables set in the Paris Agreements and any activities aimed at hindering Cambodia's democratic development would run counter to the vital interests of that country and its people. To realize the possibilities inherent in this crucial transition period, the Cambodian leaders will have to demonstrate their political maturity, transcend their divisions and promote national reconciliation. We are confident - and our most recent information gives positive indications to this effect - that the Khmers, under the authority of Prince Sihanouk, will be up to the very special tasks that await them in their country, devastated by cruel wars.

Furthermore, through this resolution, the Security Council declares its availability to the Khmer people in its efforts to achieve stability and reconstruction. In closing this long and difficult chapter of the Cambodian conflict, the international community must do everything possible to facilitate Cambodia's renewal.

Mr. VORONTSOV (Russian Federation) (interpretation from Russian): The delegation of the Russian Federation received with great satisfaction the Secretary-General's report on the results of the elections in Cambodia and confirmation of the fact that they were generally free and fair.

The Russian side fully respects the Cambodian people's free expression of self-determination and recognizes its results. We should like to pay due tribute to the Secretary-General, his Special Representative Mr. Akashi, and to the personnel of the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC), which contributed its utmost towards bringing about this exceptional expression of self-determination by the Cambodian people.

Russia attaches great importance to this historic event in the life of Cambodian society, which lays a democratic foundation for its future development. We see it as an important factor for peace and stability not only in Cambodia but in South-East Asia as a whole. In this exceptionally delicate period of transition towards the establishment of a new power structure in Cambodia, it is essential for all sides fully to live up to their obligations and to respect the results of the elections. In this regard we note the principal role of the efforts of His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk in bringing about national reconciliation. We would like to express our hope that, given the willingness of the Cambodian people to show restraint and engage in dialogue, those efforts will lead to the formation of a representative coalition Government.

There are today in Cambodia the necessary concrete preconditions for achieving the main goal of the Paris process: the restoration of peace on the basis of national reconciliation and the formation of a new Cambodia - a sovereign, independent, neutral and territorially integral State that respects human rights and maintains good-neighbourly relations with all countries of

(Mr. Vorontsov, Russian Federation)

the world. We believe that the international community's efforts will have the utmost effect in the realization of this objective and in the successful completion of the United Nations operation in Cambodia.

We believe that the resolution just adopted by the Security Council will demonstrate the international community's support for the peace process and provide an impetus to the Khmer sides to reach mutual agreements and national reconciliation.

Mr. CHEN Jian (China) (interpretation from Chinese): The Chinese delegation is pleased that the resolution on the question of Cambodia, of which the Chinese delegation was honoured to be a sponsor, was adopted. Under the auspices of the United Nations and through the concerted efforts of the Cambodian people, the elections in Cambodia have, on the whole, come to a conclusion. The Secretary-General's Special Representative Mr. Akashi has, on behalf of the Secretary-General, made a statement on the results of the elections. We urge the various Cambodian parties fully to respect the results of those elections.

The Chinese delegation is of the view that the Cambodian question should be resolved by the Cambodian people themselves. Only under the leadership of Prince Sihanouk and through the concerted efforts of all the Cambodian parties, and only when genuine national reconciliation is achieved, will it be possible for Cambodia finally to embark on the road of building an independent, unified and neutral new State. We hope that all the Cambodian parties will set store by the national interests and establish, through consultation, a new Government that can reflect the spirit of national reconciliation so as to facilitate the realization of the aforementioned

(Mr. Chen Jian, China)

objectives. We also hope that the international community will fully respect the choice made by the Cambodian people of its own free will.

The Chinese delegation attaches importance to the significant role played by Prince Sihanouk in the Cambodian peace process and appreciates his recommendations aimed at achieving peace and avoiding bloodshed in the current circumstances. We support his active efforts to achieve peace and national reconciliation in Cambodia. We hope that Prince Sihanouk will continue to make his contribution by promoting the peaceful consultations among the parties concerned in Cambodia to overcome the difficulties and maintain peace and stability after the general elections.

Mr. WALKER (United States of America): In adopting this resolution, the Security Council has affirmed the judgement of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative that the elections in Cambodia were free and fair. This was also the judgement of over 1,600 international election monitors as well as numerous independent election observers. In fact no one, apart from some members of one Cambodian party which was disappointed with the results, has challenged this judgement.

These elections represent a remarkable demonstration of the Cambodian people's desire for peace and democracy, despite threats, violence and intimidation. The Cambodian people clearly showed that it would not be deterred by violence and intimidation, whether committed by the State of Cambodia or by the Khmer Rouge.

All the major Cambodian parties, except the Cambodian Peoples Party (CPP), have officially accepted the election results. We understand that many of the CPP candidates elected to the Constituent Assembly are now participating in the work of the Assembly. However, we urge that party to

(Mr. Walker, United States)

join the other Cambodian parties, the Security Council and the entire international community in officially accepting the will of the Cambodian people and respecting the results of the elections.

After so many years of war and suffering, the Cambodian people has voted decisively for peace. We fully support the work of the Constituent Assembly in drafting a constitution and forming a new Government for Cambodia. It is incumbent upon all the parties to strive for national reconciliation so that peace can indeed be achieved. In this regard, we welcome the decision of the Constituent Assembly to recognize the unique role His Royal Highness Prince Sihanouk has played as President of the Supreme National Council by voting that he be the Head of State of Cambodia. We are confident that Prince Sihanouk will promote peace and reconciliation for all of Cambodia.

Sir David HANNAY (United Kingdom): My Government congratulates both the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) and the Cambodian people on the successful holding of the election for the Constituent Assembly. We welcome in particular the fact that the Secretary-General has now certified that it was free and fair, and the resolution we have just adopted endorses that. The high turn-out in the election was a clear indication that the people of Cambodia wish to be masters of their future and to be so through democratic process. The results of the election must be respected by all parties.

As the Secretary-General has made clear in his report, complaints about the conduct of the election have not been substantiated. The international community must make clear the consequences to any party of its refusal to accept the results. It is essential for the future of Cambodia that all concerned now put aside their differences and work together.

(Sir David Hannay,
United Kingdom)

We also welcome the agreement reached on 10 June between the leaders of the armed forces of three of the parties to work to set up a single army responsible to the new Government of Cambodia which will emerge from the Constituent Assembly. We welcome the fact, too, that the Constituent Assembly itself met for the first time this morning. It is important that it now set about its task of drafting a new constitution in line with annex 5 of the Paris Agreements. The sooner this is done, the sooner a new Government will take office in Phnom Penh and Cambodians will assume full and direct responsibility for the future of their country.

UNTAC, in the few remaining months of its mandate, needs to keep up its effort to ensure that a comprehensive political settlement is implemented and thereby to help the Cambodians secure for themselves a peaceful and stable future. It is important to remember that the T in UNTAC stands for "Transitional"; that its mandate comes to an end in late August; and that, as the Secretary-General has said in his reports and as this Council said in its resolution 810 (1993), the Cambodians themselves bear primary responsibility for the implementation of the Paris Agreements and for the future stability and well-being of their country. So we must begin now to prepare for that future and to look beyond the completion of the UNTAC mandate in less than three months' time.

The United Nations and its agencies will need to provide help for Cambodia thereafter, as this resolution makes clear, but UNTAC itself must leave Cambodia at the end of the transition to a new Government and it must then be for the Cambodians themselves to assume responsibility for building their future.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): There are no further speakers on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 4.30 p.m.

UNITED
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Security Council

PROVISIONAL

S/PV.3238
16 June 1993

ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND
TWO HUNDRED AND THIRTY-EIGHTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Wednesday, 16 June 1993, at 7 p.m.

President:	Mr. YAÑEZ BARNUEVO	(Spain)
Members:	Brazil	Mr. SARDENBERG
	Cape Verde	Mr. BARBOSA
	China	Mr. CHEN Jian
	Djibouti	Mr. OLHAYE
	France	Mr. MERIMEE
	Hungary	Mr. MOLNÁR
	Japan	Mr. MARUYAMA
	Morocco	Mr. BENJELLOUN-TOUIMI
	New Zealand	Mr. VAN BOHEMEN
	Pakistan	Mr. KHAN
	Russian Federation	Mr. VORONTSOV
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. PLUMBLY
	United States of America	Mrs. ALBRIGHT
	Venezuela	Mr. ARRIA

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93-86107 4659V (E)

The meeting was called to order at 7.15 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE QUESTION CONCERNING HAITI

LETTER DATED 7 JUNE 1993 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF HAITI TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/25958)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of the Bahamas, Canada and Haiti in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Longchamp (Haiti) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Moultrie (Bahamas) and Mrs. Fréchette (Canada) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

(The President)

Members of the Council have before them document S/25958, which contains the text of a letter dated 7 June 1993, from the Permanent Representative of Haiti to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/25957, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by France, the United States of America and Venezuela.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to document S/25942, which contains the text of a letter dated 14 June 1993 from the Permanent Representative of Cuba to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council.

The first speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Canada. I invite her to take a place at the Council table and to make her statement.

Mrs. FRECHETTE (Canada): Allow me at the outset, Mr. President, to extend to you the congratulations of my delegation on your assumption of the presidency for the month of June. I am sure that you will exercise these important responsibilities with great distinction. I should also like to congratulate and thank the Permanent Representative of the Russian Federation, whose tenure in the Chair of the Council last month is unanimously agreed to have been of exceptional quality.

Canada has asked to speak during this debate to express its strong support for the draft resolution the Council is preparing to adopt.

(spoke in French)

The forcible overthrow of the democratically elected Government of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide has been universally condemned by the international community. The resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 11 October 1991, and those which followed, demand the restoration of constitutional order in Haiti and the return of President Aristide.

The return of democracy to Haiti has been a priority of the Government of Canada since the crisis began more than 18 months ago. We believe that the draft resolution before the Council is a critical step towards achieving our common objective.

From the outset, it has seemed clear to us that only a firm and unequivocal response from the international community would produce the conditions necessary for the return of democracy to Haiti. Canada supported unreservedly the initiative taken by the Organization of American States (OAS) not only to condemn the interruption of the democratic process but also to implement concrete measures designed to restore that process.

The OAS has demonstrated patience and resolve, and has not been deflected from its objective when confronted with the intransigence of the illegal

(Mrs. Fréchette, Canada)

regime. However, it must be recognized that there are limits to the tools available to the OAS. The OAS embargo on trade with Haiti is not binding on countries which are not members of that organization, thus reducing its impact and thereby allowing the illegal regime in Port-au-Prince to cling to power. Acknowledging this reality, the OAS found it necessary to seek the support of the United Nations.

Canada strongly supports the efforts of the past six months of His Excellency Mr. Dante Caputo, Special Envoy of the OAS and the United Nations, to reach a negotiated settlement. We salute the courage, patience and skill with which he has carried out his mandate. However, the negotiating process Mr. Caputo has undertaken was rejected by the de facto authorities and the military command in Haiti when they refused to endorse key elements of his proposed framework for a settlement.

We share a responsibility to create the conditions necessary to the success of Mr. Caputo's mission of mediation on behalf of the United Nations and the OAS. By supporting the limited sanctions in the draft resolution, the purpose of which is to advance the negotiating process, we will send a clear message.

Repression prevails in Haiti. Fundamental human rights are systematically violated. The situation is one of instability, where political choice is exercised only in the dangerous act of seeking refuge elsewhere. We should remember that virtually no Haitians took to the seas after President Aristide's election, whereas an estimated 40,000 fled the country after the coup d'état.

The situation in Haiti is a threat to peace and security in the region; and Haiti's neighbours are daily subjected to the consequences.

(Mrs. Fréchette, Canada)

For these reasons, the Canadian Government considers it legitimate and necessary that the Council respond positively to the call by President Aristide, the only legitimate authority of the Haitian nation, and impose an embargo on the delivery of oil supplies in order to bring about a speedy conclusion to this tragic and volatile situation. There is no other way to bring about the end of the illegal regime. It is only by demonstrating the resolve of the entire international community that those who hold power in Haiti will understand that there is no other path than the negotiated solution that is being offered.

The principal elements of this draft resolution - an embargo on the delivery of petroleum and petroleum products, arms and munitions, and the freezing of the assets of the Haitian State - are already covered by the embargo earlier decreed by the OAS. As such, Canada has been implementing them for some time, and we look forward to receiving the determined support of the entire international community.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I thank the representative of Canada for the kind words she addressed to me.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution (S/25957) to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Brazil, Cape Verde, China, Djibouti, France, Hungary, Japan, Morocco, New Zealand, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 841 (1993).

Members of the Council have asked me to say that the adoption of this resolution is warranted by the unique and exceptional situation in Haiti and should not be regarded as constituting a precedent.

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. MERIMEE (France) (interpretation from French): Since the coup d'état that prompted President Aristide, who was legitimately elected, to leave his country, France has been following with special attention the tragic political events that have occurred in Haiti.

In the hope that the de facto authorities might accept a return to legality, France also gave unswerving support to the efforts made by the Special Representative of the Secretaries-General of the United Nations and the Organization of American States (OAS) to find an honourable solution enabling Haiti to return fully to the international community.

We must note here that the reasonable proposals put forward by Mr. Caputo to resolve the crisis in Haiti have not been heeded by the de facto government, which for 20 months has opposed any serious settlement of the question of Haiti.

It is this situation of total blockage that is before the Security Council for consideration. My delegation hopes that the adoption of sanctions against Haiti will soon make it possible to bring the perpetrators of the coup d'état to the negotiating table in order to restore constitutional order in Haiti. We also hope that it will not be necessary for the Council to tighten these measures if, once again, no tangible result emerges from the

(Mr. Mérimée, France)

talks that the Representative of the Secretaries-General wishes to continue to conduct with the parties.

Mr. ARRIA (Venezuela) (interpretation from Spanish): On 3 October 1991, the Security Council, in this Chamber, received the President of Haiti, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, whose constitutional Government had just been overthrown by a military coup d'état. President Aristide at that time was in danger of losing his life. In spite of the circumstances, no one will ever forget his statement in the Council. Venezuela's delegation was sitting at the side of the Security Council. It was a speech with a tone and a purpose which showed determination to restore peace by peaceful means. I would recall here some of the aspects of that speech:

> "It is that people which, using non-violent means to protest that dictatorship, is standing and awaiting the support of the international community - your support - so that together we can show our will to live in democracy and for democracy and against dictatorship.
>
> "It is the selfsame people that expects the Council's support in the protection of human rights. (...)
>
> "Were we isolated and alone in our country, it would have been very difficult for us, the Haitian people, to face this tragic situation, in which arms and military boots are always ready to crush a people that wish to stake their lives and work peacefully for the reign of democracy."

(Mr. Arria, Venezuela)

President Aristide then said:

"I shall simply say that with the Council standing with us, we are firmly convinced that once again the Latin American continent, the Antilles, the Caribbean and the rest of the world will say 'yes' to democracy and 'no' to military dictatorship, 'yes' to solidarity and 'no' to isolation.

"The Council knows the history of our country, and we are ready to keep that history going - a history that is replete with struggles for peace, for justice, for solidarity with the international community."

President Aristide went on to say:

"As I speak to the Council, I see peace-loving people I have known go before my mind's eye, and I know that they have died. I am wondering how many more will be massacred if once and for all an end is not put - within the norm - to this attempt to murder democracy."

(S/PV.3011, pp. 7-8)

Throughout the 20 difficult months that have passed since President Aristide made that speech, he has never abandoned his commitment to peace. He has constantly cooperated with all the efforts and initiatives of both the Organization of American States (OAS) and our Organization. This position has encouraged the Secretary-General's group of friendly countries - Canada, the United States and France - as well as my own country to continue to support the process to restore democracy, stability and peace in Haiti.

The Haitian tragedy is a potential threat to regional and international peace and security. One need only imagine what a substantial increase of hundreds of thousands of Haitians, in terrified flight to other countries, would mean. This tragedy is not confined within the borders of Haiti. It has

(Mr. Arria, Venezuela)

already extended dangerously beyond them. The situation in Haiti is undoubtedly a threat to peace and security, particularly in the Caribbean basin, an area to which my country belongs. It is not a question of interference in Haiti's internal affairs. The legitimate and constitutional Government of Haiti - the Government of Jean-Bertrand Aristide - has asked us to act today in the Security Council.

When my country was fighting for its independence in the early nineteenth century, our liberator Simon Bolivar found support for his actions to win independence for Venezuela, Colombia, Peru, Ecuador and Bolivia only in the small island of Haiti, where he was generously greeted by President Alexandre Petion, who felt and measured perfectly the need for solidarity if the South American nations were to win their freedom. We recognize this debt of ours to Haiti as unpayable, but it is also unforgettable and we will never abandon it.

There is no reason that Haiti - the first country of our continent, after the United States, to find independence and freedom, and the first in the world to abolish slavery - should today find its leaders in exile and its people forced to flee violations of human rights committed by usurpers who do not recognize the most fundamental human rights. In Haiti, the United Nations believed that, in order to make democracy viable, it was enough to establish an electoral process. Of course, I do not wish to play down the importance of that process, but I would like to emphasize that the international community seemed to exhaust its concern for the people of Haiti after taking what was only the initial step in a long process of democratization and freedom. The United Nations opened a new prospect and a new dimension in the life of the people with the elections in Haiti, but our efforts must not flag until the

(Mr. Arria, Venezuela)

lawful authorities of that country - which has experienced so many violations of human rights and, I venture to say, such discrimination on the part of the international community - are restored to power and are accorded the same consideration and support which the United Nations has shown in other extreme cases elsewhere in the world.

The human rights situation in Haiti has worsened considerably. People have disappeared and been killed. There has been preventive repression, persecution, arbitrary detention and torture. The Special Rapporteur of the United Nations, the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights and other intergovernmental bodies have received innumerable complaints faithfully documenting these activities. This terrifying reality, existing in our hemisphere only three hours from New York and Washington, D.C., is being suffered by Haitians who only appeal for the right to live in freedom and democracy.

The measures taken in accordance with the resolution of the OAS, imposing the oil and weapons embargo, are not enough. The provisions of the embargo have not been respected because they are not binding. The action on which the Security Council has decided today is unquestionably a sign of the cooperation between the United Nations and a regional organization, in this case the Organization of American States. It is also the first time that the Security Council has adopted a resolution implementing Chapter VII in connection with a country in the American hemisphere.

It might be appropriate here to recall that the OAS has attempted, since the beginning of the crisis in Haiti, to apply measures aimed at bringing about a negotiated settlement. There is no initiative, no mission, no meeting, no declaration that has not been undertaken within the framework of

(Mr. Arria, Venezuela)

the OAS. Thus, all that remained was recourse to the Security Council, which we petition today to strengthen the OAS resolution, adopted on 6 June 1993 in Managua, which emphasizes the need for all States members of the OAS and the United Nations alike to strengthen the embargo. It is obvious that the only way to strengthen the embargo is to make it binding and universal. But that requires action on the part of the Security Council. In this respect, I should like to emphasize that we are not pursuing the embargo as an end in itself, but as a means to give the Special Envoy of the Secretaries-General of both organizations an additional deterrent so that negotiations will continue and will achieve the goal we all seek.

On this occasion, my delegation would like to express especial appreciation for the efforts and dedication of the Secretary-General and in particular for those of the Special Envoy, Mr. Dante Caputo of Argentina, who has demonstrated conspicuous dedication in this process.

Finally, I should like to note that the delegations of Brazil and Venezuela have consulted their regional group and CARICOM, taking into particular account their observations, which have served to broaden our position and make the resolution we have adopted today more representative. It undoubtedly represents a historic attempt to restore democracy, to which Latin America and the Caribbean are committed.

Mr. KHAN (Pakistan): My delegation voted in favour of resolution 841 (1993) in the belief that the mandatory measures contained in that resolution are in conformity with the recommendations made by the Organization of American States (OAS) and that these extraordinary measures by the Security Council are necessitated by the threat to international peace and security emanating from the continuation of the existing situation in Haiti.

(Mr. Khan, Pakistan)

We accept the view that the Council's action has been taken under exceptional circumstances in this particular case. My delegation's vote on this resolution is therefore without prejudice to the position which we may take on future resolution of the Council in a similar situation.

My delegation strongly supports the continuing efforts of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the Secretary-General of the Organization of American States, their Special Envoy and those of the international community to reach a political solution to the crisis in Haiti. It is our earnest expectation that these efforts will culminate in a comprehensive and peaceful settlement in Haiti in accordance with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and international law before the stipulated deadlines, thus obviating the need to impose sanctions.

Mr. SARDENBERG (Brazil): The critical situation in Haiti, a member of the Latin American and Caribbean family of nations, has increasingly become a source of serious concern to Brazil.

Almost three years ago the United Nations and the Organization of American States (OAS) sponsored a successful electoral process, which resulted in the election of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide and the inauguration of Haiti's legitimate Government, freely and democratically elected.

Like other members of the international community, Brazil welcomed that achievement, which promised to open a new era in Haiti's history, an era of economic development and social justice on the basis of democratic participation. It was therefore a deep disappointment to us when in September 1991 that democratic process was suddenly and violently interrupted by a coup d'état. Those deplorable events triggered a strong reaction by the international community - first and foremost by the Organization of American States.

In fact, the OAS responded to the Haitian crisis almost immediately, deciding to take important measures to ensure the restoration of democracy and of the legitimate Government of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide in Haiti. A series of resolutions adopted by the OAS was supplemented by the strenuous efforts made since the beginning of the crisis by the Secretary-General of the OAS, Mr. João Clemente Baena Soares. Efforts at the regional level subsequently received the invaluable support of the United Nations General Assembly and the equally invaluable participation of the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali. Most recently the designation of Mr. Dante Caputo as the Special Envoy of the Secretaries-General of both Organizations added an important contribution to this process. His skilful work is proving

(Mr. Sardenberg, Brazil)

to be an asset in our endeavour to reach a peaceful solution to the crisis in Haiti.

In spite of all of the efforts already made, a solution to the crisis has not yet been achieved. The de facto authorities have repeatedly failed to accept the fundamental need for a settlement that reinstates the legitimate Government of Haiti. The resolution adopted by the Foreign Ministers of the Organization of American States on 6 June in Managua stressed the need for its member States and the Members of the United Nations to reinforce the measures adopted to encourage the de facto authorities to accept a prompt solution to the situation within full respect for legitimacy and democracy.

The resolution just adopted makes it clear that the situation in Haiti is unique and exceptional. That uniqueness and that exceptional character are defined by a conjunction of different factors - in particular, the request by the legitimate Government of Haiti that the Security Council make universal and mandatory the measures recommended by the OAS. Another crucial factor that characterizes the uniqueness of the Haitian crisis is the fact that action has already been taken in that same direction by the OAS and by the General Assembly. That prior action provides a framework which warrants the extraordinary consideration of the matter by the Security Council and the equally extraordinary application of measures provided for in Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

Throughout the consultations the Brazilian delegation worked closely with the co-sponsors of the draft resolution to support the adoption of the strong measures that are required and to make sure that the resolution reflected the specificity of that exceptional framework to which I have referred.

(Mr. Sardenberg, Brazil)

It was, furthermore, important that the resolution be an element in reinforcing the joint cooperative efforts made by the OAS and the United Nations in dealing with this most urgent question.

We are thankful to the co-sponsors for having displayed, during all the consultations, a spirit that is the best reflection of the multilateral approach to international relations and that made it possible to achieve a resolution that is strong in its content and does not disregard the important legal and political issues related to the measures adopted.

Twenty months ago the joy and civic spirit with which the Haitian people embarked upon the democratic process that culminated with the election of President Aristide were cut short in an untimely way by force of arms. Now that all Member States of the United Nations are called upon to be party to the efforts aimed at reversing that situation, it is the hope of the Brazilian Government that those efforts will finally bear fruit so that Haiti may recover its legitimate Government and therefore be fully reincorporated into the international community.

My delegation voted in favour of resolution 841 (1993) in the hope that it will not have to be applied and that we shall receive notice that the democratic and peaceful solution has been arrived at, a solution which the people of Haiti has been expecting for too long.

Mrs. ALBRIGHT (United States of America): The Council has just acted decisively to underline the international community's demand for a return to democratic legitimacy in Haiti. In taking the extremely serious step of imposing mandatory sanctions, we are sending a clear and resounding message.

It is time for the Haitian parties to engage in honest and serious negotiations.

(Ms. Albright, United States)

It is time for the Haitian parties to put their country's interests first and take responsibility for a lasting settlement of this crisis.

It is time to end the suffering of the Haitian people.

It is time for President Aristide and democracy to be returned to this long-suffering land.

We know that sanctions alone are not a solution to the Haitian tragedy. Rather, the tough sanctions adopted today represent a further step by the international community to put pressure on those who stand in the way of a solution. In the final analysis, however, the international community cannot solve the Haitian crisis. Only the Haitians themselves can do that.

The negotiating process led by Dante Caputo, the Special Envoy of the United Nations and Organization of American States Secretaries-General, presents a historic opportunity for the Haitian parties to provide for a secure and democratic future.

We call on all sides to seize this opportunity now.

We call on all sides to negotiate seriously for a settlement, and make the difficult decisions leadership requires.

We call on all sides to take responsibility now for ending this tragedy.

Haiti stands at an important crossroads. The international community, with this action today, is signalling its commitment to bring a resolution to the suffering in Haiti. Haitians in leadership positions now must do their part. We look to them to demonstrate the patriotism and statesmanship their country requires.

Mr. CHEN Jian (China) (interpretation from Chinese): The Chinese delegation is deeply concerned over the current situation in Haiti. The Secretary-General and his Special Envoy as well as the Organization of American States have all made tireless efforts for a political solution to

(Mr. Chen Jian, China)

the Haitian crisis. We hope that such efforts will facilitate a settlement of the Haitian question, thus contributing to peace and stability in the region.

The crisis in Haiti is essentially a matter which falls within the internal affairs of that country, and therefore should be dealt with by the Haitian people themselves. Meanwhile, it has come to our attention that the Haitian crisis has acquired a new dimension with the latest developments. Under these circumstances, the Permanent Representative of Haiti, acting within the context of the related actions previously taken by the Organization of American States and by the General Assembly of the United Nations, has requested the Security Council to take urgent measures to redress the crisis in Haiti, and his letter has been circulated as an official document of the Security Council.

As the developments in Haiti have already brought, or will bring, adverse effects on them, the Organization of American States and countries from Latin America and the Caribbean have made similar requests to the Security Council to support the efforts made by the regional Organization. The resolution has also made it very clear that the Council, in dealing with the Haitian crisis, will fully heed and respect the views of the relevant regional Organization and countries in the region, and that any action by the Council should be complementary to, and supportive of, the actions by the relevant regional Organization.

(Mr. Chen Jian, China)

The main purpose of the resolution is an early political solution to the crisis in Haiti. We have noted, in particular, the statement by the President of the Council to the effect that the adoption of this resolution and the measures envisaged therein are warranted only as a result of the unique and exceptional situation in Haiti, and therefore should not be regarded as constituting any precedent for the future. It is on the basis of these considerations that the Chinese delegation has voted in favour of the resolution just adopted.

The Chinese delegation, as its consistent position, does not favour the Security Council's handling matters which are essentially internal affairs of a Member State, nor does it approve of resorting lightly to such mandatory measures as sanctions by the Council. We wish to point out that the favourable vote the Chinese delegation cast just now does not mean any change in that position.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): There are no further speakers on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 7.50 p.m.

UNITED
NATIONS

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Security Council

PROVISIONAL

S/PV.3239
18 June 1993

ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND
TWO HUNDRED AND THIRTY-NINTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Friday, 18 June 1993, at 3 p.m.

President:	Mr. YAÑEZ BARNUEVO	(Spain)
Members:	Brazil	Mr. de ARAUJO CASTRO
	Cape Verde	Mr. BARBOSA
	China	Mr. CHEN Jian
	Djibouti	Mr. OLHAYE
	France	Mr. MERIMEE
	Hungary	Mr. ERDŐS
	Japan	Mr. SHIGEIE
	Morocco	Mr. BENJELLOUN-TOUIMI
	New Zealand	Mr. O'BRIEN
	Pakistan	Mr. MARKER
	Russian Federation	Mr. VORONTSOV
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
	United States of America	Mrs. ALBRIGHT
	Venezuela	Mr. ARRIA

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93-86137 4672V (E)

The meeting was called to order at 3.30 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION IN THE FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA

LETTER DATED 15 JUNE 1993 FROM THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/25954 and Add.1)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on the agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them documents S/25954 and Add.1, which contain the texts of letters dated 15 June 1993 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/25955, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Brazil, Cape Verde, China, Djibouti, France, Hungary, Japan, Morocco, New Zealand, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 842 (1993).

(The President)

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. WALKER (United States of America): My Government was gratified that the Secretary-General endorsed the expansion of the United Nations Protection Force in Macedonia, and we are pleased that the Council has adopted this resolution as expeditiously as it has.

My Government's offer of forces for the United Nations contingent in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia is part of a larger effort to deal with the conflict in the region. This expansion is an essential step in our goal of promoting regional stability.

The Council's endorsement of this plan is evidence that the international community can work together towards the prevention and resolution of conflict.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): There are no further speakers inscribed on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 3.35 p.m.

UNITED
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Security Council

PROVISIONAL

S/PV.3240
18 June 1993

ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND
TWO HUNDRED AND FORTIETH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Friday, 18 June 1993, at 3.35 p.m.

President:	Mr. YAÑEZ BARNUEVO	(Spain)
Members:	Brazil	Mr. de ARAUJO CASTRO
	Cape Verde	Mr. BARBOSA
	China	Mr. CHEN Jian
	Djibouti	Mr. OLHAYE
	France	Mr. MERIMEE
	Hungary	Mr. ERDÖS
	Japan	Mr. SHIGEIE
	Morocco	Mr. BENJELLOUN-TOUIMI
	New Zealand	Mr. O'BRIEN
	Pakistan	Mr. MARKER
	Russian Federation	Mr. VORONTSOV
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
	United States of America	Mrs. ALBRIGHT
	Venezuela	Mr. ARRIA

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93-86143 4676V (E)

The meeting was called to order at 3.35 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

APPLICATIONS MADE UNDER ARTICLE 50 OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS AS A CONSEQUENCE OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF MEASURES IMPOSED AGAINST THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/25956, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Brazil, Cape Verde, China, Djibouti, France, Hungary, Japan, Morocco, New Zealand, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 843 (1993).

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 3.40 p.m.

UNITED
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Security Council

PROVISIONAL

S/PV.3241
18 June 1993

ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND
TWO HUNDRED AND FORTY-FIRST MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Friday, 18 June 1993, at 3.40 p.m.

President:	Mr. YAÑEZ BARNUEVO	(Spain)
Members:	Brazil	Mr. de ARAUJO CASTRO
	Cape Verde	Mr. BARBOSA
	China	Mr. CHEN Jian
	Djibouti	Mr. OLHAYE
	France	Mr. MERIMEE
	Hungary	Mr. ERDOS
	Japan	Mr. SHIGEIE
	Morocco	Mr. BENJELLOUN-TOUIMI
	New Zealand	Mr. O'BRIEN
	Pakistan	Mr. MARKER
	Russian Federation	Mr. VORONTSOV
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
	United States of America	Mrs. ALBRIGHT
	Venezuela	Mr. ARRIA

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93-86149 4677V (E)

The meeting was called to order at 3.40 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION IN THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL PURSUANT TO SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 836 (1993) (S/25939 and Corr.1 and Add.1)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Misić (Bosnia and Herzegovina) took a place at the Council table.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General pursuant to Security Council resolution 836 (1993), document S/25939 and Corr.1 and Add.1.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/25966, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by France, the Russian Federation, Spain, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America.

(The President)

I should like to draw the attention of the Council to the following documents: S/25908, S/25909, S/25933, S/25943 and S/25959, letters dated 5, 6, 11, 13 and 16 June 1993 from the Permanent Representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put draft resolution S/25966 to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Brazil, Cape Verde, China, Djibouti, France, Hungary, Japan, Morocco, New Zealand, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 844 (1993).

I shall call now on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. ERDÖS (Hungary) (interpretation from French): The Hungarian delegation's vote in favour of resolution 844 (1993) reflects our conviction that the intention of resolution 836 (1993) to establish safe areas in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina must be implemented as quickly as possible.

For us, the only remaining question related to the specific modalities proposed to do this. We must say that the modalities outlined in the present resolution are not entirely what we had hoped for. They are acceptable

(Mr. Erdös, Hungary)

only to the extent that we had to face the fact that under the present circumstances the international community is neither in a position, nor is it inclined, to do more. Unfortunately, the consultations that preceded the adoption of the resolution and the documents on which our decisions were based convinced us that there is simply no real prospect of taking larger-scale, more effective and less contradictory measures.

The present resolution has not rid us of the feeling we have had for some time: that the inherent characteristics of the structures we are building in Bosnia and Herzegovina could in the circumstances prevailing in and around the safe areas call into question the validity and operational aspects of those structures. We might wonder whether the kinds of deterrence decided upon by the Council will in fact be adequate to prevent the aggressor from pursuing his attempts to eliminate or "neutralize" the safe areas. Passive and minimally credible deterrent structures can easily become impotent, with a loss of the capacity to act. It is cold comfort that this is not the first time this has happened to us in the former Yugoslavia.

Hence, we can only hope that with the adoption of resolution 844 (1993) we will achieve at least one of our objectives: urgently to protect the people living in the safe areas and to halt the grave, systematic violations of international humanitarian law. That would be consonant with the recent appeal to the Security Council by the World Conference on Human Rights to take the measures necessary to put an end to the genocide taking place in Bosnia and Herzegovina - in particular, in Gorazde.

We hope that the measures proposed in the report of the Secretary-General, which the Security Council has just approved through the

(Mr. Erdös, Hungary)

present resolution, will be taken as soon as possible and in such a way as to make possible progress towards a fair overall settlement of the Bosnian crisis, thus preventing fossilization of the structures we have planned.

Mr. WALKER (United States of America): My Government is pleased that the Security Council has adopted this resolution implementing the Secretary-General's report on safe areas in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. We joined in sponsoring the resolution because we saw it as a means to save lives in that tormented Republic and to facilitate meeting the humanitarian needs of the Bosnian people.

This is another step forward in the international community's efforts to achieve a lasting and equitable settlement of this terrible conflict. The current resolution is obviously not the end of the process. As we meet, there indeed are hopeful signs that a political settlement may once again be within reach.

Once again, I note that the United States voted in favour of this resolution as an intermediate step that does not foreclose options involving tougher measures.

I reiterate that we expect the full cooperation of the Bosnian Serb party in implementing this resolution. If that cooperation is not forthcoming, we will move to seek further action in the Security Council. The violence must stop. This resolution can be a decisive step in that direction.

Mr. MERIMEE (France) (interpretation from French): Two weeks ago the Council with near unanimity adopted resolution 836 (1993) on safe areas in

(Mr. Mérimée, France)

Bosnia and Herzegovina. We thought it essential that today the Council should show its determination to continue on the path on which it set out with the adoption of that resolution.

The new resolution we have just adopted approves the report of the Secretary-General and decides to authorize the reinforcement of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) to meet the additional requirements mentioned in paragraph 6 of the report as an initial report.

This deployment is what we might call the "light" option - the only realistic option at present given the means that can be made available to UNPROFOR in the short term. We think that those means, coupled with the threat of air strikes, can deter attacks against the safe areas, in conformity with resolution 836 (1993).

Clearly, speedy implementation of that resolution depends on Member States. That is why the new resolution calls upon Member States to contribute forces, including logistic support and equipment. In that connection, we hail the generous offer of the Government of Pakistan and that of the Government of Bangladesh. We hope other States will follow their example. We are certain that the expressions of solidarity with Bosnia and Herzegovina by so many delegations will be concretely in the provision of the means that UNPROFOR requires.

Mr. VORONTSOV (Russian Federation)(interpretation from Russian): The Russian Federation was a co-sponsor of the important resolution just adopted by the Security Council, which envisages specific measures to provide for the security of the safe areas in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. We are grateful to the Secretary-General for his report in document S/25939, which was prepared pursuant to Security Council resolution 836 (1993). We believe that the recommendations in that report are an excellent basis for the initiation of the implementation of the Council's decision to establish safe areas in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Thus, a specific, concrete step is being taken to implement that decision, whose purpose is to put an end to bloodshed, to allay the suffering of the civilian population and to stabilize the situation. The idea of safe areas is an important element in the programme adopted in Washington on 22 May this year by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Spain, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom, the United States and France - a programme of joint actions aimed at exploring ways and means of extinguishing the Bosnian conflagration and establishing a stable and lasting political settlement.

We share the Secretary-General's view that the implementation of the decision to set up safe areas must be predicated upon the consent and cooperation of all the Bosnian parties. We call upon them to become aware of the full gravity of the situation and to embark on the course of cooperation with the United Nations Protection Force in the process of implementing the Security Council's resolutions on safe areas. These parties must clearly realize that if they refuse such coopoeration this will involve the adoption of new, tougher measures, none of which is either predetermined or ruled out.

Mr. McKINNON (New Zealand): We may be on the verge of change in the overall political context in Bosnia, but New Zealand supports the resolution just adopted because we wish to see Security Council resolution 836 (1993) implemented as effectively and quickly as possible. The present resolution constitutes a valuable initial step towards that goal. Its implementation depends, of course, on sufficient forces and material being made available.

We thank those Member States that have indicated that they will be able to contribute personnel to the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) for the purposes of this extended mandate. We also welcome the offer made by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to provide air power in and around the safe areas in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in support of UNPROFOR. The provision for air power to be deployed in this way and for this purpose is a key element in resolution 836 (1993).

At long last, United Nations military observers have been permitted to enter Gorazde, one of the six safe areas designated in resolution 836 (1993). What they have found there confirms our worst fears about what happened in Gorazde in the weeks before the observers were admitted. It is good that the military observers are now in Gorazde, but it is not enough. All parties must respect the safe areas, must comply fully with resolution 836 (1993) and must commit themselves to a negotiated settlement of the conflict which rages in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Latest reports available to Council members seem to indicate an increase in the level of incidents against United Nations personnel. We sympathize with those nations that have lost soldiers in these incidents. These events make it all the more imperative to implement speedily today's resolution and resolution 836 (1993).

Sir David HANNAY (United Kingdom): My Government welcomes the speedy adoption of this resolution endorsing the Secretary-General's report. We particularly welcome the fact that the Security Council has achieved its unity in this matter and is going forward by unanimity.

My Government believes that it was necesesary to follow up as quickly as possible the immediate steps that were identified in the joint action programme agreed in Washington some three weeks ago - steps of which this was perhaps the most significant.

Of course, as others have said, the safe-areas policy and this reinforcement of it is not in itself a solution to the problems of Bosnia and Herzegovina. But it is, in our view, a step in the right direction, designed to make the safe areas safer and to assist the major humanitarian effort in which my country, along with France, Spain, Canada and others, have been involved for eight months now and in the course of which many innocent lives have been saved.

We hope very much that there will be a good and rapid response to the request the Secretary-General is now making for troops and equipment. We very much welcome the fact that some countries have already come forward to the Secretary-General and made offers in both these fields.

Of course, the safe-areas policy must be set in a wider context, and that wider context must be the continued search for a lasting and equitable political settlement - a search on which there must be no let-up.

Mr. de ARAUJO CASTRO (Brazil): On the occasion of the adoption by the Security Council of resolution 836 (1993) two weeks ago, my delegation noted that in due course that resolution should be complemented by appropriate additional measures. We also stated that the decision taken then by the Security Council should have a two-fold objective, the fulfilment of which

(Mr. de Araujo Castro, Brazil)

would serve as the yardstick against which the effectiveness of that resolution would be measured: immediately, or in the very short run, to preserve the safety of and ensure minimum living conditions for the populations in the safe areas; and at a later stage, to be reached as quickly as possible, to restore full normalcy to life in those areas.

It may be too early to try to assess objectively the practical effects of resolution 836 (1993), or even of the last half dozen resolutions out of a total of almost 40 adopted by the Security Council on matters related to the former Yugolavia. However, one cannot fail to note a dramatic acceleration of the process of deterioration that has characterized the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina for the last few months. It is thus understandable that many may feel disappointed and frustrated by the way the international community has been handling the Bosnian conflict. The Security Council must acknowledge its share of responsibility in this regard.

The Council has recently adopted resolutions on the establishment of an international tribunal, on the possible deployment of monitors along the Bosnian borders, and on the expansion of the concept of safe areas. So far, those decisions have had scant, if any, positive bearing on the actual situation on the ground.

In his latest report on this issue, which is both realistic and subdued, the Secretary-General makes it clear that the effective implementation of the provisions of the resolution just adopted, which will depend upon the consent and cooperation of the parties - an element that remains less than certain - will not increase the current levels of protection provided to humanitarian convoys of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), currently exposed to continuous harassment by all parties; nor will

(Mr. de Araujo Castro, Brazil)

it guarantee the defence of the safe areas, which should be its immediate goal.

The action taken today by the Security Council in adopting resolution 844 (1993) has none the less the merit of giving a more practical dimension to the serious measures envisaged in resolution 836 (1993) and, as such, deserves the support of my delegation. It should be seen, once again, as an additional step in the so-far-elusive process of searching for a lasting peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

We particularly value the reference in the resolution to the overwhelming importance of seeking a comprehensive political solution to the conflict in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This reference, which echoes the opinion expressed by the Secretary-General in his report, reminds us that the ultimate objective of the Security Council remains the attainment of a truly sustainable settlement of that conflict.

(Mr. de Araujo Castro, Brazil)

The achievements of the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the former Yugoslavia continue to provide an appropriate framework for the pursuit of a lasting solution to the Bosnian problem. Brazil is convinced that, in order to be effective, any such solution must necessarily take into account the legitimate interests of all the peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina and ensure protection for the rights of minorities.

For too long the world community has been witnessing the perpetration of heinous crimes and gross violations of international humanitarian law in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Let us hope that the decision taken today by the Security Council will prove to be more than just one additional link in a very long chain of measures and may effectively contribute to stopping the killing and bringing about a sound resolution to the Bosnian conflict.

Mr. SHIGEIE (Japan): My delegation continues to be gravely concerned over the continuing and intolerable situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The unceasing military attacks and hostilities are further worsening the plight of the civilian population, as seen in Srebrenica and, more recently, in Gorazde.

Previously this Council unanimously adopted a resolution "to ensure full respect for the safe areas" (resolution 836 (1993), para. 4) and "extend... the mandate of UNPROFOR" (ibid., para. 5) to protect those areas. The proposals made by the Secretary-General to implement that resolution are very realistic and necessary, given the grave situation prevailing and the available resources. We hope that the deployment of forces will be carried out as rapidly as possible.

While we work on the humanitarian situation, it remains all the more important to strive to find a comprehensive political resolution. That

(Mr. Shigeie, Japan)

comprehensive resolution must be found through talks and negotiations. In that connection, my Government is following closely and with much interest the talks begun recently in Geneva among the parties concerned and with the Co-Chairmen of the International Conference.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of Spain.

We welcome the unanimous adoption of resolution 844 (1993), of which Spain was a sponsor. The report of the Secretary-General responds to the request contained in resolution 836 (1993), and its adoption by the Council is the essential step for the practical application of whatever is needed to implement that resolution.

The continuing deterioration of the situation on the ground, which the Government of Spain follows with great concern, makes increasingly relevant and acute the need for the safe areas and their civilian population to have adequate protection, which certainly requires the cooperation of the parties; but it also requires the strengthening of UNPROFOR along with other support measures, including air cover.

We therefore hope for favourable responses to the requests of the Secretary-General for the provision of additional contingents of troops and the necessary equipment and logistical support. We particularly welcome the fact that several countries have already indicated their willingness in that regard. Spain, for its part, will continue to contribute to UNPROFOR efforts by means of the contingent it has already deployed in Bosnia and Herzegovina, whose troops are being duly reinforced and which operates along the Metkovic-Mostar-Sarajevo route, identified in the Secretary-General's report as vital to the maintenance of the United Nations efforts in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and particularly now for the protection of the safe areas.

(The President)

We understand that strengthening UNPROFOR, as now authorized, is an initial measure which, we hope, will be adequate, but which does not exclude further strengthening, if that should be necessary, in order to achieve the objectives set out in resolution 836 (1993).

None of this should exempt us - rather the contrary - from the search for a comprehensive, equitable and lasting solution to the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina and, in general, to the crisis in the former Yugoslavia, a solution which is at this time more urgent than ever.

I now resume my functions as President of the Security Council.

There are no further speakers on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 4.05 p.m.

UNITED
NATIONS

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Security Council

PROVISIONAL

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18 June 1993

ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND
TWO HUNDRED AND FORTY-SECOND MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Friday, 18 June 1993, at 4.05 p.m.

President:	Mr. YAÑEZ BARNUEVO	(Spain)
Members:	Brazil	Mr. de ARAUJO CASTRO
	Cape Verde	Mr. BARBOSA
	China	Mr. CHEN Jian
	Djibouti	Mr. OLHAYE
	France	Mr. MERIMEE
	Hungary	Mr. ERDÖS
	Japan	Mr. SHIGEIE
	Morocco	Mr. BENJELLOUN-TOUIMI
	New Zealand	Mr. O'BRIEN
	Pakistan	Mr. MARKER
	Russian Federation	Mr. VORONTSOV
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
	United States of America	Mrs. ALBRIGHT
	Venezuela	Mr. ARRIA

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The meeting was called to order at 4.05 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION BETWEEN IRAQ AND KUWAIT

NOTE BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (S/25960)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/25960, which contains the text of a note by the Secretary-General dated 16 June 1993, transmitting the report of the Executive Chairman of the Special Commission established by the Secretary-General pursuant to paragraph 9 (b) (i) of Security Council resolution 687 (1991).

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council is deeply concerned by the Government of Iraq's de facto refusal to accept the United Nations Special Commission's (UNSCOM) installation of monitoring devices at rocket test sites and to transport chemical-weapons-related equipment to a designated site for destruction, as set out in a report from the Executive Chairman of the Special Commission to the President of the Security Council (S/25960).

(The President)

"The Council refers to resolution 687 (1991), requiring Iraq to permit the Special Commission and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) to undertake immediate on-site inspection of any locations designated by the Commission. The agreement on facilities, privileges and immunities between the Government of Iraq and the United Nations, and resolutions 707 (1991) and 715 (1991) clearly establish Iraq's obligation to accept the presence of monitoring equipment designated by UNSCOM, and that it is for the Special Commission alone to determine which items must be destroyed under paragraph 9 of resolution 687 (1991).

"Iraq must accept installation by UNSCOM of monitoring devices at the rocket test sites in question and transport the chemical-weapons-related equipment concerned to a designated site for destruction.

(The President)

"The Council reminds Iraq that resolution 715 (1991) approved plans for monitoring by the Special Commission and the IAEA which clearly require Iraq to accept the presence of such monitoring equipment at Iraqi sites, designated by UNSCOM, to ensure continuing compliance with its obligations under Security Council resolution 687 (1991).

"Iraq's refusal to comply with decisions of the Special Commission, as set out in the report of the Executive Chairman, constitutes a material and unacceptable breach of the relevant provisions of resolution 687 (1991), which established the cease-fire and provided the conditions essential to the restoration of peace and security in the region, as well as violations of Security Council resolutions 707 (1991) and 715 (1991), and the plans for future ongoing monitoring and verification approved thereunder. In this context, it recalls the statements of 8 January 1993 (S/25081) and 11 January 1993 (S/25091), and warns the Government of Iraq of the serious consequences of material breaches of resolution 687 (1991) and violations of its obligations under resolution 715 (1991) and the above-mentioned plans.

"The Council reminds the Government of Iraq of its obligations under Security Council resolutions and its undertakings to provide for the safety of inspection personnel and equipment. The Council demands that the Government of Iraq immediately comply with its obligations under Security Council resolutions 687 (1991), 707 (1991) and 715 (1991), and cease its attempts to restrict the Commission's inspection rights and operational capabilities."

(The President)

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/25970.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The meeting rose at 4.10 p.m.